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[311] annually tilled, though the actual extent varies considerably according to the vagaries of the weather, the surplus in the granaries, the availability of implements and animals, and other factors. We do not think that in present conditions the absence of man-power in the towns is a material factor. On the contrary the man-power available is more than sufficient as long as present methods are employed. The introduction of the plough has liberated more energy than is absorbed by work among Europeans; the number of inactive men has increased rather than decreased. It is the shortage of animals and implements, rather than of men, that is most impressive. Even European labour and European ploughs and cattle are employed by the Natives; they come from the neighbouring farms and can do the work more economically than the Native with his inadequate resources. But it is not lack of human material, it is the impossibility of making the ploughs and animals go round, that necessitates such expedients. In the companies and partnerships, those who contribute the essentials, the cattle or the ploughs, are the dominant partners, and the others must often wait until late in the season before their needs can be attended to. The partnerships thus lead to tensions and strife, and hiring of services is becoming more popular. Yet on the whole the system works with remarkable smoothness. If it worked perfectly, the Natives would realize much more forcibly that it is not lack of industry that, as they think, is at the bottom of their troubles, but the inadequacy of the land and of their material resources.

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476 Although animal husbandry ranks as a very poor second economic activity, it is still of sufficient importance to warrant a few remarks even in such a general account as this. Pastoral activities are not arduous; in the old days they were worthy of the metal of adult men who went armed to herd the cattle and supervised the milking. But to-day children herd and there are practically no cows to be milked. Cattle are individually owned both by men and women, but the kind of ownership, except in the case of some 15 per cent., is entirely different from what we understand by the word. For the vast majority of cattle are linked to the chain of *munywalo* (bride-price) exchanges and as such the individual's rights over them are subject to many restrictions. The primary value to the Natives of cattle is not economic, but social; he regards cattle as food only in the last resort, though there is no taboo against killing them. Cattle are not killed as sacrifices. Ownership of cattle is not the chief or even a very important method of reckoning status. A man will complain, not because he has no cattle, but because he cannot brew beer to maintain his prestige. The dung of cattle is used for smearing, cattle that die are eaten, and cattle are killed in time of starvation so that the meat can be exchanged for mealies. But cattle are, generally speaking, much too large units of value to be of use in economic exchanges. Finally, the needs of cattle do not determine the routine of the day. They are taken out late, after the dew has dried and the herdboys have had their morning meal; and they come back almost unnoticed without disturbing the arrangements of the village. In a sense, however, their needs set limits to the harvesting season; crops which are not reaped by the beginning of July are practically at their mercy. Yet, despite all this, cattle are regarded

guardian rather than the servant of a master. He is, like a member of the family, fed and clothed, but never remunerated; his position is not a derogatory one. He owns his own property, but his taxes may be paid for him, and he receives cattle as *minyalo* (bride-price). His services are essentially voluntary; he participates in all social activities and has no political disabilities.

Rather like the *mulada* was the *muratwa* (*hu rua*, to rear cattle or other animals). He was a poor man taken in by the family as a hanger-on, was given land, and was helped just as if he were a member of the family. If he was an orphan bachelor, related to the family, he usually married one of its daughters; but he was not bound to the family and could leave whenever he wished. This institution is practically extinct to-day, as is also *hu fuda* (or *hu sigela*), to work for food. In the old days, a man or woman, short of maize towards the end of the year, would hire out his services; but the work was considered irksome and the worker 'a fool who feeds himself by his labours'. The work is difficult for, 'tired though he be, he must work until the owner of the field is also tired'. *Hu sigela* is spoken of especially when a bachelor, with no sister from whose marriage he could expect the cattle for his marriage, sold his services for hoes and cattle; usually his mother assisted him; and often he carried iron ore from the north to the local smiths, so that it used to be said 'the great road helps bachelors (who have no sisters) to marry the sisters of young men'.

Hu hira (from the Afrikaans *huur*, hire), the hiring out of one's services or implements, is practically confined to Christians; it is a new conception. But pagans who have money or dislike the unreliability of a *khlutbe* arrangement sometimes engage the services or hire the implements or cattle of others. The standard payment is 10s. per acre ploughed. The advantages are that one can insist upon a certain degree of thoroughness in the work and dictate the time of ploughing. In the old days implements were borrowed (*hu adima*); but even *hu adima*, if it is of things falling definitely within the European pattern, nowadays involves the passing of some consideration, especially among Christians. The typical instance is the loan of a boar, which must be returned with one of the litter. But the loan of animals or implements of the traditional economy, such as cattle, goats, or pots, is always gratuitous; even when a herdboy is lent, one must expect only 'thanks', which is generally sent with some beer. Only the utmost care of the thing, not payment, is expected of the borrower, for 'when I, who am a borrower, turn round (to face the lender), I fear to be caught in the thorn tree'. There is an ill-defined custom whereby, when a relative, usually the mother's mother or the mother's brother, cares for (*hu lila*) a child for many years, he is given a head of cattle, called the *maledi*. This is hardly a reward for services; it is a gesture of goodwill, is entirely voluntary, and is rarely paid.

When cattle are placed in the care of another (*hu fisa*) no consideration passes; the person to whom the cattle are entrusted, the *mufisica*, uses the cattle and their milk; but his use is precarious, for 'he scans the road even as he milks' since the owner may at any moment come to take back his cattle. Occasionally when goats are cared for, the herdboy is given a

231 young goat, 'the payment of the herding', to-day, even if the goats have
 465 not prospered, because herdboys are no longer willing to work for nothing. Moreover, the *mufiswa* of cattle is nowadays asked to help the owner with his ploughing and he often (illegally, by traditional standards) charges herding and grazing fees. This charge is levied on the model of European farmers and is exacted even in areas within the reserve, where grazing fees are unknown. *Hu fisa* differs from *hu disja* (to cause to graze), an arrangement whereby one man allows another's cattle to run with his own, usually because he has no herdboy; for this no consideration passes.

461 Service, just like the various forms of co-operation, thus hardly ever implies subservience. Where it does, as in the old *hu fuda* or in the various modern forms of service, its incidents are regarded as derogatory, because they are incongruent with the emphasis on reciprocity. Even
 567 *vuthobya* (slavery), which arises from captivity and was practically unknown, implies no real bondage. There is to-day still one 'slave', an old Shangana-Tonga woman captured, not by the Lovedu, but by the Shangana-Tonga, who sent her as tribute for rain to Mujaji. The institution of slavery is unknown among the Lovedu; so she, just like other wives of the queen, was handed over to one of the nobles, who accepted her as a daughter. As we have mentioned, there is a tendency to adopt European patterns of labour, both in the more or less solitary and in the co-operative activities.

166 The most important change is the migration to towns and farms in
 464 search of cash wages. The cash amount that enters the tribe, as compared with the total income of an average family, is small, not more than 7 per cent. The effects of the migration itself are proportionately small. It is not so much the absence in town of the men nor even the ideas that they bring back with them that are of the first importance. More men, not less, are idle to-day, and more crops, not less, are reaped than in the old days. Moreover, what the men have learnt in the towns is on the whole so different from the practice at home that it has to be laid aside. The greatest changes are not the direct introductions by these men, but the indirect reactions to the rule and the economy of the white man. Many of these reactions are unintelligible in relation to local conditions; they have spread from the highveld. We are concerned at present only with changes in the outlook towards economic arrangements. At first sight they appear to be very great, but the longer one looks the more superficial they appear and the firmer the old foundations stand out. The Christians
 1081 are a notable exception, not because they migrate more to the towns (on the whole the difference is negligible), but because, orientating themselves from an anti-tribal angle, they have eagerly accepted whatever differentiates them from their heathen brothers. They are competitive and money-conscious; they exploit their brothers.

For purposes of comparison, we may briefly consider two areas: A, with a population of 822, and B, with a population of 610. The census in A was taken in April, 1936, of B in April, 1937, the seasons 1936 and 1937 not being significantly different. A is 40 per cent. Christian and on the whole Christian standards of living prevail; B is 16 per cent. Christian

and heathen standards prevail. The main differences between A and B¹⁶⁶ are that in A tribal life is at a minimum and economic obligations are⁴⁶⁴ slightly heavier than in B upon both Christians and pagans; and in B, where tribal life is at a maximum, Christians have far better opportunities of economically exploiting their heathen neighbours. The extent of the migration to towns turns out to be a function mainly of economic considerations, but social factors play an important differentiating role, as the following figures will illustrate. The figures refer to males only, as there were no females absent in towns, and they are expressed as the approximate percentage of males absent for each of the age groups that are enumerated.

PERCENTAGE OF MALES WORKING IN TOWNS DURING APRIL (A, 1936; B, 1937)

Age Group	Pagans and Christians			Pagans		Christians	
	A & B	A	B	A	B	A	B
6-14	2	2	1	3	0	0	5
15-19	25	31	11	42	13	16	8
6-19	10	14	4	17	4	7	6
20-25	60	55	68	47	71	58	17
26-49	43	53	33	52	33	55	33
20-49	50	54	40	49	44	56	29
50-	1	2	0	0	0	5	0
All ages, 6 upwards	25	28	21	27	22	31	18

As one would expect, the total exodus in A exceeds that in B, but while¹⁶⁶ the proportion of Christians who migrate is comparatively large in A, it is⁴⁶⁴ small in B. On the whole the Christians rely for cash income chiefly upon wages earned in town in A, but not in B, where there are far better opportunities of trade. There are, however, striking differences in the relative numbers of Christians and pagans who migrate in the two areas, especially for the age groups 6-19 and 20-25. This is not the place to give a full explanation: it will be sufficient to note the significance of the fact that for the first-mentioned age group four times larger a percentage of pagans migrate in A than in B, though for Christians there is no marked difference, and, on the other hand, the corresponding percentages in the second-mentioned age group are so strikingly different as to suggest the operation of entirely different factors. Whereas in A it is the pagans, in B it is the Christians who start migrating at an early age. There are many complicated factors that account for these differences, but mainly they are due to the less realistic adjustment of adolescents among pagans in A and among Christians in B, for among them there is little scope for recreational and other activities; and upon young men the burden of providing for the older men, whose social duties and inclinations keep them at home, falls heavily, especially among pagans in B, where tribal life is still in full force. Above all, the figures indicate that the more closely we examine the situation, the more necessary does it

166 become to interpret economic forces as operating, not *in vacuo*, but against
 ● 464 the whole background of social life.

182 It is likewise not economic forces alone, but the diffusion of a new
 157 outlook that has caused the major changes in the old co-operative system.
 Individual achievement was of little account; no one was penalized
 because he attained only a very indifferent standard of efficiency or
 industry; people were devoted to a non-material ideal. A man's whole
 upbringing and training conditioned him to the ideal of reciprocity and
 helpfulness. Yet in the modern world, where personal achievement is
 important and rivalries must necessarily arise, the life-adjustment value
 of this ideal is doubtful. To some extent, the individual adapts himself
 by accepting European standards when he is in town and relaxing from
 the strain when he has returned home. He comes back mentally tired,
 and it is recognized that he is entitled to take a long holiday, even though
 there is pressing work to be done. His failures in town are attributed,
 not to causes within himself, but to the operation of external forces. His
 dismissal is ascribed to the jealousy and witchcraft of a competitor for
 the same position, and the success of his rival to magic. Rivalry is an
 unfamiliar situation in economic activities at home, and the competitive,
 individualistic struggle in the towns is never phrased as being between
 members of the tribe; the magic that is used to oust him from competitive
 positions or to cause an employer to favour another is always magic used
 [789] by members of another tribe, such as the Zulu or Xhosa. The Lovedu
 traditionally regard luck magic with some suspicion, at least as applied in
 economic situations. But it has become increasingly necessary in order
 to re-establish their sense of security; a whole new technique of charms,
 burning medicines to attract custom, chewing roots to give confidence
 (what the European might call 'effrontery'), and the like has developed.
 Many invoke, as before a dangerous enterprise in the old days, the blessing
 of the gods. Even within the tribal economy itself the spread of ideas of
 competition has been accompanied by the extension of magic and sorcery
 to new spheres of activity.

476 That this answer to contact with the new economy may not always
 182 suffice, we see among many neighbouring tribes—for instance, the people
 of Sekhopo, 'brothers' of the Lovedu. Among them beer, the quint-
 essence of situations of reciprocity and co-operation, is converted into an
 article of sale. Beer is provided, even at *majema*, as wages, and hence
 only to the workers; visitors may join the beer-party, but must pay for
 each calabash they have. This commercialization is deplored by the
 Lovedu; it is regarded in the same light as charging strangers for board
 and lodging, a practice that prevails among highveld tribes; and it is
 almost as bad as what the Lovedu imagine to be the European custom of
 making relatives who come on a holiday pay their hosts. 'Our hotels
 are our relatives', said a Lovedu man to us; but while he was prepared to
 justify the commercial pattern in which salt, meat, tobacco; European
 vegetables, even money, oust beer in the *lejema*, the sale of beer seemed
 to him intolerable. This view fairly reflects the general opinion, as well
 as the attempt to harmonize the two patterns, among the Lovedu.
 Rewards are sometimes given to individual *lejema* workers, who are

LOBEDU PROPERTY, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Though women do most of the cultivation, the Lovedu 595
 husband is expected to play his part in producing food for his 241
 family. Every married man, therefore, has a field of his own 262
 which he cultivates with the help of his wives. The produce of
 this field is used for any beer- or work-parties that the man
 may wish to give and is a kind of bank upon which his wives
 may draw when they run short. If, however, a man helps one
 wife from his personal stores he must give all his wives an equal
 amount irrespective of their needs. When he first marries, the
 husband works with his wife in their common field. On marry-
 ing a second wife he acquires a field of his own (in addition to
 the one for his new wife) which his wives take it in turn to
 weed. It is said that if he had no field of his own but were
 merely to help each wife in turn to cultivate her field there
 would be endless trouble in maintaining equality between
 them. One of them for instance might say, 'How is it that when
 you come and work in my field you just sit but when you go
 to the field of the mother of So and So even the shade doesn't
 tempt you!'

A father is responsible for helping his sons to marry. But 593
 since a man seldom possesses cattle other than those already 583
 involved in bride-price exchange and a son uses the cattle of
 his sister, boys in a 'house' in which there are no girls often
 have to go out and work or with the help and advice of their
 father acquire bride-price in other ways. In the old days an 444
 orphan usually hired out his services to carry salt or iron ore
 from far countries in order in this way to acquire marriage hoes
 or cattle. Expenses in goats and money over and above the
 cattle given in marriage are met by the boy himself with the
 help of his father. A father should see to it that his son is pro-
 vided with a field when he marries but in practice it is very
 often the mother who concerns herself with this problem. The
 father has jural control over his sons and is responsible for their
 debts.

The wives in a polygynous household differ in status. The 595
 chief wife is the daughter of the mother's brother—the cattle-
 linked or any uterine mother's brother or mother's half-brother.
 She will bear the heir and future head of the village. Where
 there has been no marriage with the mother's brother's
 daughter it is the first wife, the one married with his father's
 cattle that is chief wife. A chief wife exercises no control over

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- 592
 591 woman, K, has, during her husband's prolonged absence in a
 571 labour centre, moved away from her fellow wives into another
 ● [564] district in order to be near her married daughter. She lives in a
 small homestead with her married son, who is absent doing
 [595] migrant labour, and her other children. In contrast to this is
 the homestead of a neighbour of hers who has five wives and

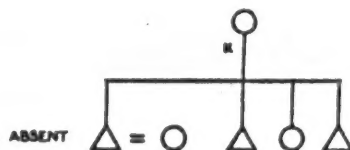


FIG. 5. Composition of a very small homestead.

whose ten brothers together with their wives and children still live with him in the homestead—a total of sixty-eight inmates (twenty-nine adults, thirty-nine children). Of these three married and two unmarried men are away doing migrant labour.

The domestic group indicated in Figure 6 originally lived in one homestead.

On A's death his chief son, B, inherited his youngest wife (No. 3) who as yet had no children. They all moved out of the old homestead, the sons (B and D) of A's two elder wives

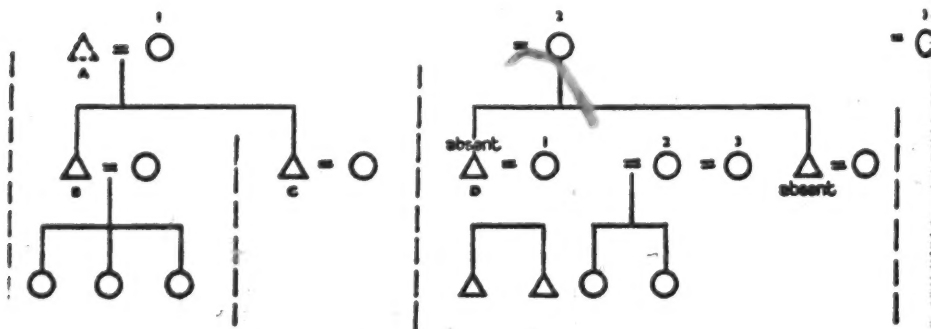


FIG. 6. Segmentation of a homestead on 'house' lines.

building separate homesteads next to one another, where I found them in 1938. The women in the homestead of D considered themselves part of the homestead of A and in the